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THE UNITED NATIONS: PROGRESS IN PROMOTING U.S. INTERESTS

HEARING BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

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Wednesday, November 3, 1999

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:41 p.m. in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Rod Grams (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Grams, Lugar, Biden, Sarbanes, Kerry, Feingold, and Boxer.

Senator GRAMS. Good afternoon. I would like to bring this hearing to order. Just one brief thing: I guess we have a series of votes coming up at about 3:30, so we will try to get as many of our questions and statements in as we can up until then.

This is a hearing, of course, on the progress in promoting U.S. interests at the U.N. Our panel today is made up of the Honorable Richard Holbrooke. Richard, thank you very much for being here. Ambassador Holbrooke, I would like to thank you again for coming to detail the progress that the United States has made to our interests of achieving an improved U.N. as we enter the next century.

Right now we are at a very critical juncture. We finally are on the verge of settling the issue of our arrears. I for one am anxious for that to happen so that we can focus on promoting our national interests instead of the intricacies of ACABQ, the OIOS, and the ILO, and a plethora of other U.N. entities with acronyms for which only a handful of people really understand what they all mean.

Secretary General Annan once stated that a reformed United Nations will be a more relevant United Nations in the eyes of the world, and he was correct. But that will only happen if we succeed in shaping the United Nations to be an organization that the U.S. needs as much as the U.N. needs the United States.

Congress is receiving mixed signals at best from the U.N. on the commitment to reform. Last week Secretary General Annan compared the U.S. demand for a no-growth budget to a "starvation diet year upon year" as he repeated his request for a substantial increase from the current budget level. In contrast, the U.N.'s outgoing Inspector General, Karl Paschke, said that the U.N. could cut \$55 million from its budget if it would follow his recommendations. Mr. Ambassador, there appears to be a divergence of views in the Secretariat on how lean the U.N. budget actually is, and of course in our questioning I would really appreciate your views on this matter.

As we all know, establishing priorities does not mean deciding where the organization should focus more attention without giving thought to where it should do less. The Secretary General has called for funding to be increased for African development, humanitarian assistance, human rights promotion, anti-drug trafficking measures, anti-organized crime efforts, internal oversight, capital expenditures, and also special political missions whose mandates have now expired.

I believe that the U.S. should support additional resources for these areas as long as commensurate savings are achieved from outdated programs and wasteful practices. The U.N. seems unable to eliminate any program or eliminate any committee whose mission has long expired.

Now, to this end I hope that this year the President will sign into law the package which links the payment of arrears to the achievement of reform benchmarks. These are common sense, achievable reforms, and we are calling for a code of conduct with an anti-nepotism provision, a mechanism to sunset outdated and unnecessary programs, and also, importantly, transparency in the budget process. We do not need to micromanage the United Nations, but we need to make sure a proper structure is in place for the U.N. to be able to manage itself.

We must pay our arrears to the U.N. In doing so, however, we should put the arrears in perspective. Throughout the history of the United Nations, the U.S. has always been its most generous donor. The United States contributes around \$2 billion to U.N. organizations and activities every year. This is three times more generous than any other permanent member of the Security Council, and I do not believe success in any of these areas where the U.N. excels would be possible without the high level of U.S. support.

Now, that being said, ensuring the arrears package is approved and paid again is one of my highest priorities during the last days of this session. I well recognize the U.S. mission's job is more difficult, of course, without the arrears package signed into law, but you have shown that it can be done. You have already won a seat for an American on the ACABQ, which everyone said was impossible given the current climate. Our hat is off for you and your efforts, and I look forward to hearing from you today on the progress we have made and the challenges we still face in promoting the U.S. agenda in the Security Council as well as in the General Assembly. So I join you in seeking to make the U.N. a more viable and very successful organization.

Richard, thank you very much again for being here.

Senator Biden.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

And Dick, you thought Bosnia was tough. Be careful what you wish for; you may get it. You are now our Ambassador. As a friend, an old coach of mine, used to say, lots of luck in your senior year, kid.

Just imagine what you could do if you had a bat. You are up at the plate, you are actually hitting the ball. You do not even have a bat yet, and we keep holding it in arrears here, so to speak.

I am happy you are here today. After 9 weeks on the job, it really is, as the chairman said, it has been remarkable. The idea that you

would be able to get us back on the most important committee is a testament to your skill.

Of course, when we consider U.N. issues today, at the top of the list now is going to be the loss of our seat in the General Assembly if we fail to pay what even we acknowledge we owe by December 31 of this year. The question of paying arrears is not just a budgetary question. It is a question of how much we value the work of the United Nations and whether or not we want the United Nations to play a prominent role and whether the United States will be able to play a prominent role within the United Nations.

Obviously, we do not lose our seat in the Security Council, but it does, surely does impact upon our, your ability to engage your persuasive capabilities when in fact we might not even have a seat in the General Assembly or a vote in the General Assembly.

I cannot believe the American people are going to be very happy to wake up on New Year's Day in the new millennium and find out that the world's only superpower can no longer vote in the United Nations General Assembly. I am not suggesting that the American people have that at the top of their agenda, but I am suggesting that they have an intuitive notion that it just makes no sense, the way in which we are conducting ourselves here in Congress relative to our responsibilities and our obligations to the United Nations.

I was pleased to join with Chairman Helms, who I might say has been extremely good on this issue, in a bipartisan effort in the Senate to pay back our arrears and encourage reform in the United Nations. We have been working on the so-called Helms-Biden package since 1997 and in fact it has been passed by this body in various forms three separate times since then.

It is of critical importance to the United States' leadership both in the United Nations and abroad that there be a resolution of the impasse that the House of Representatives has engaged in before this Congress adjourns, although I must tell, Dick, I am not sure—well, I have been more hopeful about other difficult things than I am about this.

I know you are making a herculean effort in the House to make the case why this is a national security issue. This is not an issue about Mexico City and abortion; it is a national security issue. Senator Helms has made that case in my presence with other Members and no one feels more strongly, no one is more right to life, no one is a stronger anti-abortion advocate than Senator Helms, and Senator Helms has been saying that this should be freed up and viewed in the context in which it belongs, a national security issue.

Mr. Ambassador, I know you have been extraordinarily active since your confirmation wrestling, not only with the arrears problem, but also with difficult issues such as Kosovo and Iraq. People do not fully understand—my colleagues all do, obviously, but people do not fully understand the consequences of your being crippled or being able to be blindsided when we are in a position of weakness at the U.N. and we expect you to be able to marshal and mobilize support and opinion at the United Nations to matters that we acknowledge to be overwhelmingly in our national interest.

I want to personally apologize for you being in that position. You should not have to be in that position. We make the job extraordinarily difficult.

The longer we wait on this, as implied by the chairman, the more difficult it is to get the reforms that we have agreed on that are needed, that we have agreed upon. In my view it makes your job more difficult.

So I am anxious to hear what you have to say. I appreciate your effort. One of the things Madeleine Albright talked about when she took over as the Secretary of State was to make diplomacy and foreign policy understandable to the American people and to talk about it here. Well, I appreciate the fact, I do not know of any other U.N. Ambassador that has been willing to take the time and effort and understand the necessity of making the case for the need at the U.N. person by person, Congressperson by Congressperson, Senator by Senator.

I know it takes a lot of time away from what all of the U.N. Ambassadors though they should be spending their time doing. That is, making their case to delegates at the United Nations, rather than making their case to Congresspersons here in the U.S. Congress. But it is important and you are doing it.

I conclude by saying, when we talk about this arrears package most people do not understand what we do, and many Congresspersons and Senators do not, I respectfully suggest. We are not talking about country club dues we have not paid. We are not talking about back dues that go to the Secretary General's office. The bulk of the money we owe is arrearages that we owe to our allies, to Great Britain and France and Germany and others, for past peacekeeping efforts. This money will pass through straight to them, the bulk of it.

So I think as people understand what this is about, we are inclined to get more support. I just hope with your not inconsiderable help that we are able to move our friends in the House to focus on this issue straight up and down and disengage it from other unrelated items.

But again I welcome you. I thank you for having the willingness to take the job in the first place, and you are—as I said, in the short time you have been there you have made a believer out of some doubters, although there were very few of those to begin with.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the time.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Senator Biden.

Senator Lugar.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I thank you for your personal leadership on U.N. issues and your participation in going to the U.N. and working closely with our Ambassadors. And I appreciate the work of Senator Helms and Senator Biden and the amendment that they have offered and the proposal for the payment of our dues.

Let me just say that at the time that the Helms-Biden accord was reached I took the viewpoint on the floor, in an amendment that I offered, that we ought to pay the arrears in 2 years time and without conditions. I did so largely for the reasons Senator Biden has talked about today: that two-thirds of the money, at least at that time, or more was owed to our close allies, Great Britain, to France, Germany, good friends of ours who are very important in our foreign policy. And I hoped that that would be the course of the Senate.

Now, it was not. That amendment got 25 votes. There were 74 Senators opposed to that course of action. But it did offer a good opportunity to discuss a couple of years ago in a rather full debate that day the activities of the United Nations, the importance to the United States and our own foreign policy, our own security, of our leadership.

I applaud you, Ambassador Holbrooke, as our spear-carrier now, an outstanding leader for our interests, as well as your general humanitarian interests exemplified in so many ways.

I am hopeful that the President and the administration will realize the gravity of the situation, which of course they do in a way. But for 2 years we have been hung up on the family planning issue. Now, it is a very important issue in this country and in the world. So is the payment of our dues. So is the United Nations.

It is going to require, as it already has, some accommodation, as Senator Biden has alluded to in his remarks, and as he and Senator Helms have tried to work with Members of the House. Hopefully, as you work with Members of the House and as with members of the administration, including the President and the Secretary of State, some type of accommodation is going to have to occur for this to happen in a short framework of time.

I believe it will be a national tragedy if something does not occur, whatever the strengths there may be for the positions that are held by the principals that have led to this impasse. So I plead for that understanding. I think you understand the issues all too well, but I hope you will be effective in the House, the Senate, and with the President.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you very much, Senator Lugar.

Senator Boxer.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much, and thanks to my colleagues. I did not know you would all be coming or I would not have taken this seat of honor over here. But I will be leaving early because I am going to a meeting of the women in the House over the CEDAW issue, and I am going to get to that in a moment.

Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure to be here to welcome Ambassador Holbrooke back. It was tough, but it was worth it, I think, just seeing you on the Hill working with colleagues and, as the Senators have acknowledged, working hard to see that the U.S. pays its dues, its arrears. To me, to have a dispute over family planning and U.N. dues, I mean, the average person would say: What is this about? They are separate issues and they should not be commingled, as they say.

I am very hopeful that you would be very effective on getting the Members of the House to understand the importance of separating these matters.

I want to talk to you about the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which the U.N. General Assembly approved in 1979. I raised the issue with Secretary Albright in February of this year and she said on the record this was one of her priorities, and she actually said to the chairman in this open session that she was hopeful that he would hold a hearing on the treaty. Although it was signed by President Carter in 1980, the Senate still has not ratified it.

This issue is somehow striking a chord out there among the general public and as a result the Members of Congress have started to get involved. I applaud that. I think it is good that they are involved, because I want to say this: Only a few nations around the world have refused to ratify this treaty and these include North Korea, Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria. North Korea, Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria, and I do not like us standing with these countries rather than with the 165 nations who have ratified or acceded to the treaty.

So because my time is somewhat limited, if my time runs out before I get to ask you these questions, I would like to submit them for the record because I think they are very important. They go to the question of your view on how important is this treaty and some other questions. But I am absolutely delighted to see you here and, as Senator Biden said, it is a tough job that you have and we applaud you for what you are trying to do, which is to get the American people in many ways focused on the importance of America as a world leader.

So thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Senator Boxer.

Senator Kerry.

Senator KERRY. Mr. Chairman, let me just take a moment, if I may. Thank you for affording each of us an opportunity to say something and welcome, Mr. Ambassador.

I want to associate myself with the words of the Senator from Indiana. I think his voice is enormously respected internationally for the leadership he has offered over the years with respect to international affairs. I have not served on this committee as long as our good Ranking Member Senator Biden or the Senator from Indiana, but 15 years is a fairly long time.

And I will tell you, I have never been more disappointed, more concerned, more frustrated than I am now at this moment, when we face such extraordinary challenges on a global basis, to find us caught up in such petty, partisan, picayune politics that is literally undermining the national security interests of this country.

The national security of this country is not just measured by missiles and troops. It is measured by relationships that are nurtured over a long period of time in the international arena. To have us, the United States of America, who have fought so hard through this century to buildup international multilateral capacities—which is the only way to solve most of the problems of the world ultimately—to have us undermining that in the way that we are, to have us threatened with the loss of our vote, not by discretion but by statutory rationale, is inexcusable, inexcusable.

I say to my friends on the other side of the aisle, they should feel some sense of decency and responsibility for all of this. To be hung up once again over language that we fight about every year here on an issue that has precious little to do with fundamental national security issues, but is really caught up in a different kind of politics, is just unacceptable.

So I am greatly saddened by it. I welcome you here today finally, after you were held up for a year or more and put through the most

onerous process before your talents were committed to the larger interests of this country.

I hope—the great power we have in this country ultimately is the ballot box and not long from now, exactly 1 day plus 1 year from now, Americans will have an opportunity to express themselves and I hope they will. I will do my best to carry the message to the country that they not forget what has happened in these past years.

Too much does not happen here or happens here for which there is no accountability. I think it is up to us to try to help create that accountability and I certainly intend to try to do so.

But I welcome you here, Mr. Ambassador. I am sorry. I know what you are going through at the U.N. I know how many people come up to you every day and say to you: Why should we cooperate with the United States? You have not even paid your dues. Why should we listen to you? You are a renegade. You are irresponsible. You do not live by the rules; why should we live by the rules? I have heard it and I know you hear it.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that we can do everything in our power as a responsible committee to get us on a track where we are not playing this kind of a dangerous game.

Senator GRAMS. Senator Feingold.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Ambassador Holbrooke.

Let me first agree strongly with my colleague from California about the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. I am noticing a genuine groundswell of concern and support back in my State and around the country on this, and I really do hope that this committee will take action on it.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased that the committee is addressing the role of the United Nations as a forum to promote United States interests today as the Congress and the administration continue negotiations on the fiscal year 2000 Federal budget. As my colleagues know, ever since I have been here I have tried to show that I firmly believe that we have to take a critical eye to all Federal spending to determine where we can cut unnecessary or redundant items and to continue to move toward a truly balanced budget, and I think that applies to our expenditures having to do with foreign relations and the U.N.

But that scrutiny must be thoughtful, and I am very concerned that the United States is not honoring its financial commitments to the United Nations. America's failure to honor its financial commitments casts a shadow on our Nation's credibility and doubts our capacity for leadership. The issue looms over our ability to be an effective advocate in the General Assembly and the Security Council on issues ranging from common sense reforms within the United Nations to matters of policy to a reduction in our national—an opportunity to possibly get a reduction in our national assessment for the U.N. regular budget.

I agree with many of my colleagues and many in the administration, including Ambassador Holbrooke, that there is room for improvement and reform in the day to day operations of the U.N. I

also agree, though, that it is absolutely essential that we honor our financial commitments.

Like many members of this committee, I supported the so-called Helms-Biden package to pay \$926 million of outstanding arrears. In fact, I supported the Lugar amendment, which was even stronger and I think an even better proposal. But I regret that the agreement that Senator Biden was involved with appears to again be entangled in a debate over extraneous issues.

Mr. Chairman, we cannot risk losing our vote in the General Assembly in January, which will happen if we do not pay our bills. American leadership is at stake and I hope that the Congress and the administration will be able to come to an acceptable agreement on this issue before this country loses even more of its credibility in the United Nations.

Despite that organization's flaws, it still retains much of the promise it offered at its creation. It is still a useful forum for burden-sharing, international cooperation, and the preservation of peace and stability worldwide.

So again, Ambassador Holbrooke, I look forward to your testimony and I congratulate you on your role at the U.N.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Senator Feingold.

Ambassador Holbrooke, we would like to hear from you in your opening statement.

**STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE, U.S.
PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Mr. Chairman, it is a great honor to appear before you again, my first chance to testify since confirmation. I express again my gratitude to you and those members of the committee who are not here today for taking me through your committee unanimously and shepherding me through the full Senate.

I have listened carefully to the six statements that have just taken place and there is really nothing that has been said that I would disagree with. So let me just make a couple of quick observations because I know that you are all going to have to vote in a minute and we can get to your questions.

First of all, I have a formal statement prepared in advance I would like to submit for the record.

Senator GRAMS. It will be so entered.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. But what I would like to do now is respond informally to the comments that you have just made.

First of all, the \$926 million that the Senate voted 97 to 1 is essential. You have all talked about losing the vote in the General Assembly. But I need to be very frank with you. Less money than \$926 million is required to keep the vote. We need the full \$926 million to function. The U.N. is still going to say we owe them more money than that, but that money, which is in the budget cap for this year but not next year, is the absolute minimum that we need for our national security needs.

Almost all of you have made the same point in different ways. This is not a vote to give money to bureaucratic fat cats living in New York City; this is money for our national security interests. Senator Biden mentioned some of the money going back to our al-

lies. You might add, sir, that over \$100 million of it comes back to us. Over \$100 million of the \$926 million goes to the Pentagon, so it is really a little more than \$800 million.

No bargain could be much more of a bargain. And this is not just money that flows through and then disappears. The U.N.'s cupboard is bare and we have national security interests at work in East Timor, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, and elsewhere in the world where we are getting a terrific bargain by the leveraging effect.

Let me, because I do not want to review the whole world, let me focus for a moment on East Timor, a subject of interest to many of you and particularly Senator Feingold, who has been in the forefront of keeping this issue before the national consciousness for the last few years. On Labor Day weekend, the weekend I assumed my responsibilities after returning from Kosovo, the Indonesian troops were rampaging through East Timor. It could not have looked worse. It looked like Kosovo.

The United Nations sent a delegation headed by the Namibian Ambassador, but very well balanced with the British, Slovene, Dutch, and Malaysian Ambassadors, to Indonesia. That mission took General Wiranto, who was publicly denying the evidence the world was able to see, to Dili. He saw the evidence. They brought him back to Jakarta and within 48 hours the international pressure, focused through the United Nations Security Council, had produced a stunning capitulation of the Indonesian leadership for what now is the multinational force.

We then in New York forced the Security Council to stay in session around the clock until we got a Chapter VII resolution, including Chinese approval—almost unprecedented—for a unanimous dispatch of these troops. Most of the world thinks this is a U.N. peacekeeping force, but it is important to stress it is not a blue-helmet U.N. force. It is a multinational force under Australian leadership, to which we are making a small but important contribution, given the fact that the Australians have fought on our side throughout this century.

This is a nearly textbook example, although it is sloppy and messy as everything in Indonesia is, this is an almost textbook example of what the founding fathers, particularly Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, had in mind when they created the modern U.N. system and the Security Council. The cost to the U.S. taxpayer is small, and if you did not have the United Nations Security Council I do not know how we would have gotten out of this thing, I really do not.

Now, I mention East Timor, although Kosovo is of more immediate concern to us because we have several thousand troops on the ground at risk, because it seems to me to be a classic proof of what Senator Grams and the rest of you already said: We cannot do business without the money. There are troops in some of the Southeast Asian countries waiting to go to East Timor now, who cannot go unless we guarantee they are going to get reimbursed.

Unlike the British and French who Senator Biden referred to earlier—Senator Biden is correct in what he said, but they, the British and French, are willing to wait on the money. There are other countries which just cannot send the troops unless someone else pays for them.

Now, I do not see what evidence anyone could need more than this of the essentiality of the United Nations and its value. To be sure, it is bloated, it is inefficient, it needs cleaning up, all the usual things which I might add apply to almost every bureaucracy that I can think of, not excluding the executive branch of which I am a member. But net-net to the United States, this is a national interest of the highest value.

Now I would like to comment briefly on some of the specifics that you raised and add a couple of other things. First of all in regard to Senator Boxer's point, I do not have time to go into it today, Senator Boxer. I have not yet gotten into this issue in detail. I look forward to discussing it with you in detail during your forthcoming trip to New York, at which we are going to plan a whole half day on this issue.

Secretary Albright has spoken directly of the administration's strong support for this, as has President Clinton, and I assure you I fully share that, and I look forward to planning some very intense discussions focused around that when you come to New York on November 15.

Second, in regard to the general reforms, I am very grateful for the comments of Senator Biden, Senator Kerry, Senator Lugar, and Senator Grams on the ACABQ. I want to particularly acknowledge Senator Grams' personal role in coming to New York as the first congressional visitor that we had and going personally to the Fifth Committee to make a physical demonstration of the fact that both branches and both parties were concerned about this.

The actual vote is the day after tomorrow, so we are not quite there yet. But as you all know, we will be unopposed within the Western European and Other Group, so there is every reason to assume that your optimism will be justified.

Other reforms, with one exception I want to get to in a minute, are going to have to be more directly linked to the money. I must be frank with you, I must be honest. You have asked in the Helms-Biden legislation, to which I am pledged before this committee during my confirmation hearings to work toward fulfillment of, you have committed us, assuming this becomes the law of the land, to getting zero nominal budget growth and a reduction in our assessments from 25 percent to at least 22 percent and a whole host of other important reforms.

But I single those two out for a reason. Notwithstanding your kind words about what we have already accomplished in the last 7 weeks, I could not in all honesty tell this committee that we had any chance of reducing our assessment from 25 to 22 percent and getting the rest of the world to increase their percentages if at the same time I am carrying, to use Senator Biden's apt metaphor, no bat. That is just not possible.

We are getting slammed, not by Cuba, Libya, and Iraq—in fact, the Cubans were surprisingly moderate in their attacks in the Fifth Committee—but by the British and the Japanese and other countries, who are saying in unmistakable terms: Do not ask us to increase our money before you show us you have got some of your own. I hate to quote Jerry Maguire, but they are saying: “show me the money.”

That is a reasonable position. If the Congress sends the President the bill in a form that he accepts it—and this gets into the whole larger budgetary battle which several of you have already alluded to—then you will have given me and my colleagues in New York and Washington, including the Secretary of State, the mandate and the framework for a clear, unambiguous policy for the next 15 months.

I take your point, Senator Lugar, about your original amendment, and we are now joined by the one Senator who actually voted against the package on the grounds that were consistent with your proposal. I respect greatly the position you and Senator Sarbanes took. But the fact is that I am bound by my confirmation process, when I was under oath, to make this package work, and I cannot do that without—we cannot do that; excuse the first person singular—we cannot do that without the money.

I mentioned the one issue which is outside the package which is of equal importance, and I want to stress that. That is, of course, Israel's membership in the Western European and Other Group. Secretary Albright, President Clinton, and I are waging a full-court press on our Western European allies on this issue.

There has been some progress. The new Israeli Government has raised the profile of their concern. We cannot be in the position of caring more about Israel's membership in the WEOG than Israel itself. But the Barak government has shown that it attaches the highest importance to this.

I have raised it with every member of the European Union in New York. Secretary of State Albright has talked to at least a half dozen foreign ministers personally in the last week about this. I have not been able to talk to her since she returned from Oslo, so that number may be lower—the number may be higher than I have just cited.

Many Members of Congress, including some of you in this room, have joined this issue by talking directly to certain governments who are still ambivalent or recalcitrant. I thank you all for this. It is not productive to name names at this point in public because the battle is going on. We are making progress, and I pledge to you, in addition to Helms-Biden, that we will not rest until Israel is removed from a category of one, of countries not allowed in any group. It is an outrage. It is an absolutely unacceptable outrage.

The Europeans say they should be in the Asian group, but in point of fact that is not realistic at this point. All that we are asking is temporary membership in the WEOG, temporary membership. We are not going to stop until we are satisfied that justice has been done.

Mr. Chairman, again I thank you for this opportunity. Let me conclude with a comment that refers to references that several of you, particularly Senator Kerry, made to where we stand. You have all made reference to the fact that I have been absent from this side of the Capitol and spending most of my time on the other side. I have now met with over 60 Members of the House individually since I last saw you.

Many of them, indeed most of them, are not on Foreign Relations or Foreign Operations or Armed Services Committees. Many of them are first and second and third year Members whose entry

into the Congress well post-dates the fall of the Berlin Wall. Many of them have had limited involvement with foreign affairs and I will say in fairness to them that a lot of them did not understand—I stress this—a lot of them did not fully appreciate that their votes on the family planning issue were also national security votes.

We have here the extraordinary conjunction of two momentous issues in American history, national security—because this is not a pro-U.N. vote, this is about U.S. national security, as Senator Kerry said so eloquently—and one of the two most contentious issues, along with race, in American society, the issue of abortion, family planning, when does life begin.

The intersection of these two issues is deleterious to both and, although there have been many political aspects to foreign policy over the lifetime of all of us, I can think of no similar interaction of such dimensions. All the administration has asked is that the two issues be de-linked, allow the family planning issue to continue on its own merits in a separate arena. That is all that we have asked. It is a reasonable request.

We respect the passions and the commitment of people who care about this issue and, as Senator Biden and Senator Kerry both said, no one has stronger pro-life credentials than the chairman of this committee, Senator Helms, and I might add the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Lott, with whom I have talked at length about this. But if they and many Members of the House and many Members of both parties are willing to decouple the two issues, I would urge respectfully that this is what happens.

So I thank you. All we are asking is that the package we are committed to, the Helms-Biden package negotiated with Secretary Albright and Under Secretary Pickering, go forward to the President unchanged.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I greatly appreciate the honor of being called before this committee again in the presence of so many friends. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Holbrooke follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE

Mr. Chairman, Senators. I want to thank you for inviting me here today. I appreciate this opportunity to speak with you about how we are doing in pursuit of U.S. national interests at the United Nations.

As I noted during my confirmation hearings in June, consultations with the Congress on the takeoffs as well as the crash landings are essential. I firmly believe this. For that reason, I not only welcome today's hearing but also the close relationship that has developed between you, me, and other members of this committee. And I particularly appreciate the visits to New York that Senator Grams and others have made, and I encourage the rest of you to visit as well. I cannot overstate the value of this relationship to our work at the United Nations.

PEACE AND SECURITY

Simply stated, the United Nations—while an imperfect institution—continues to be a crucial foreign policy tool for pursuing our national interests. With respect to cost considerations—human as well as financial—the United Nations provides a forum through which we pursue many of our national security objectives at relatively little expense. With respect to political considerations, the United Nations provides a means by which we obtain critical international support for our foreign policy pursuits.

The UN's burden sharing function is invaluable. Without the United Nations, the U.S. would either have to go it alone in places like Kosovo, East Timor, and Iraq,

where vital national security interests are at stake—or risk having them spiral out of control.

In fact, in mid-October, there were only 37—let me repeat, 37—U.S. military personnel who were serving in UN peacekeeping missions. There were also about 600 civilians assisting in peacekeeping efforts, mostly police. Compare that to the nearly 260,000 U.S. military personnel deployed around the world, and note that it is also less than 1% of the high mark of U.S. peacekeeping participation six years ago. There are almost as many troops in the Bahamas alone (24) than there are assigned to UN peacekeeping missions.

Mr. Chairman, in the last two months, the UN has established new peacekeeping missions in East Timor and Sierra Leone, deployed a military assessment team to the Democratic Republic of Congo, established a UN office in Angola, and consolidated its peacekeeping operation in Kosovo.

The UN has an important role to play in Sierra Leone, where the people are clinging to a fragile peace after eight years of brutal civil war, and in East Timor where the people are trying to rebuild their lives after twenty-five years of struggle. In Bosnia and Kosovo, the UN is helping to lay the foundations of free and democratic societies. And in the Congo, the UN is exploring ways that it can help consolidate the peace as the largest interstate war in modern African history comes to a close. The UN is certainly not a panacea for all that ails a troubled world, but it can—and often should—be part of a larger solution.

UNITED NATIONS REFORM

The United States has much to gain from a United Nations that works efficiently and effectively, that can deploy peacekeeping missions quickly, and that spends its money wisely. It is for this reason, Mr. Chairman, that reform is at the top of our UN agenda. Consistent with my pledge during my confirmation hearing that reform would be my highest sustained priority, it has been my focus for most of the last eight weeks.

One of the key benchmarks included in the Helms-Biden legislation was election of a U.S. candidate to the UN's main expert body on the budget—the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the ACABQ. And because much of the UN's money comes out of the pockets of American taxpayers, it is crucial that the United States be represented on the ACABQ. As you know, however, the U.S. has been kept off of the committee since 1997, due to resentment over U.S. arrears to the United Nations. This has been bad for the United States, and this has been bad for the United Nations. It just does not make sense to keep the largest stockholder from the boardroom.

I am therefore pleased to report that the U.S. expects to regain its place on the ACABQ. The vote, however, will not take place until this Friday, and I would not wish to say anything that would disturb the consensus in our favor.

I have also been hard at work on another Helms-Biden benchmark: reforming the UN scales of assessment. Reducing the U.S. share of the UN's regular budget is and will remain one of my top priorities. I fully share your view, Mr. Chairman, that it is simply wrong for the United Nations to depend so disproportionately on us. Again, reform of this issue would benefit the United Nations as well as the United States.

Although the next official review of the regular budget scale will not occur until late next year, we have already begun working this issue. We have been raising the issue in bilateral consultations with other Ambassadors. I have spoken to Secretary General Annan and his staff. And I have personally delivered two strong statements to the General Assembly's Fifth Committee. This will be among the toughest of the Helms-Biden reforms to achieve. I can assure you, however, that I will continue to do everything in my power to make it happen. However, I must be frank. We will not be able to achieve this objective if we do not obtain the funds contained in the Helms-Biden package.

Maintaining a zero-nominal growth budget has been another high priority issue on which I have spent a considerable amount of time. As you know, Mr. Chairman, the General Assembly will decide by the end of December on the 2000–2001 biennium budget. The Administration's position on this issue remains firm: the biennium budget must not exceed \$2.533 billion. We reaffirmed this position last week in a strong statement to the UN's Fifth Committee.

The United Nations, however, recently proposed a budget that slightly exceeds that level. This is unfortunate, but it is by no means insurmountable. Most of the proposed increase owes itself to projected inflation and exchange rate costs, which will be reviewed again in December just prior to approval of the budget. Nonetheless, we believe that continued efforts by the UN to improve efficiency and program

effectiveness should result in savings that will more than offset any increase in inflation and exchange rate costs. In other words, this battle is by no means over, and we will continue working with our colleagues on the Fifth Committee to achieve a zero-nominal growth budget. But again, I must be frank. Without the back dues, we have virtually no chance of achieving such a result. Resentment will mount and our leverage will disappear—and understandably so.

Mr. Chairman, during my confirmation hearings, another issue was raised that is of the utmost importance to us: Israel's membership in a regional group. As we all agreed, Israel's exclusion from the UN's regional group system is unfair and unacceptable. I committed to you then and I commit to you again today that this situation must be changed. Israel is one of our closest, most important allies, and it is the only country barred from membership in a regional group. This is an outrage, and it undermines the UN's principle regarding the sovereign equality of all its members.

Although Israel rightfully belongs in the Asian group, we have been promoting its temporary membership in the Western European and Others Group (WEOG) as a viable interim solution. Working with our Israeli and key European counterparts, the President, Secretary Albright and I have undertaken a no-holds-barred effort. While there have been concerns expressed by a few WEOG members, I am confident that these can be addressed. It is imperative that Israel be allowed to enjoy a right shared by every other member of the UN community.

U.S. ARREARS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Chairman, without question, we have a lot of important work to do at the UN—on budget and reform, on peacekeeping, and on myriad other issues in the fields of human rights, economic development, and of course, peace and security. Despite its weaknesses and problems, the United Nations still provides a forum for us to pursue and protect vital American national interests.

To be effective, however, we must pay our dues. There is absolutely no way around it. We have owed the United Nations far too much money for far too long. This situation cannot be allowed to continue. For this reason, Mr. Chairman, the Helms-Biden legislation is essential to our national security.

The Senate's overwhelming vote this summer in support of the Helms-Biden legislation demonstrated this body's commitment to pay the arrears. I know also that most Members of the House of Representatives share this commitment, because they understand what is at stake. They understand that without payment of the arrears our credibility will be further undermined, our leadership further challenged, and our effectiveness further eroded. And, in this regard, they understand that the arrears make it difficult—if not outright impossible—to achieve the necessary reforms and budget discipline as outlined in Helms-Biden.

Mr. Chairman, there is also a more immediate concern that demands the Congress's attention: Our possible loss of voting privileges in the General Assembly. As you know, if a country falls the equivalent of two-years behind in its dues, it automatically loses its right to vote in the General Assembly. And, as you know, the United States is in serious danger of crossing that threshold at the end of this year.

This would be a disaster. Vote loss would lead to a loss in U.S. prestige, influence, and international standing. And vote loss would have serious national security and budgetary implications, because it would hinder our ability to affect important General Assembly decisions, such as those regarding Security Council membership, the Middle East, and all financial matters.

I am therefore asking for your help. We have important work to do, but we need the tools to do it. We need passage of Helms-Biden, and we need it adopted on its own merits.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before you and to discuss an issue that is very important to all of us: promoting U.S. interests at the United Nations.

Thank you.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. We have been joined, as you mentioned, by Senator Sarbanes.

Senator, others have had opening statements. Would you care to have opening remarks before we begin questioning? They have together been under a half hour in length.

Senator SARBANES. Not really, Mr. Chairman. This is a very depressing issue to address. That the United States should be de-

faulting in its obligations to the world organization which we were so instrumental in helping to establish immediately following World War II is a very depressing development. It is costing us significantly in terms of our ability to lead and exercise influence at the U.N. and consequently around the world.

I have great sympathy for the task that Ambassador Holbrooke is engaged in and I wish him every success in it. I think it is a major default in meeting its responsibilities on the part of the U.S. Congress.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Senator.

I would just like to ask one quick question and then I will spread it out so everybody has an opportunity also before we have to run and vote. Of course, talking about the zero growth budget, Mr. Ambassador, the proposed budget for the next biennium is more than \$100 million over the budget cap. With Japan and the U.S. providing nearly half of the U.N. funding, it is not surprising that other nations would want an increase.

The stakes are high because by law there is a \$100 million withholding of U.S. funds to the U.N. if a budget of \$2.533 billion is not maintained. So I guess I would like to ask you just straightforwardly: What are the prospects for achieving a zero growth budget?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

By the way, before I answer your question, the ever alert and culturally aware Barbara Larkin would like me to correct the record. It was not Jerry Maguire who said "show me the money"; it was his friend played by Cuba Gooding, Jr. So with your permission, I would like to correct the record on this critical point.

Senator GRAMS. Great staff work.

Ms. LARKIN. Thank you.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. That is why Barbara travels with us at all times.

Mr. Chairman, I mentioned earlier the zero nominal growth budget and I can only revert to my previous comment. It is the Jerry Maguire comment. If we get the funding, I am convinced that we will be able to get that \$100 million bulge removed because we will have the leverage. It is not part of the Helms-Biden package.

I have already talked to the Secretary General and to two or three of his under secretaries, as you have personally in my presence. I know you had private talks with both Kofi Annan and Joe Connor on this point. They understood your own strong view. They are prepared—I need to be careful here. They are prepared to deal with us in a very serious and engaged way when they know if we are ready to present them the money.

Again I say for the record that your personal engagement on this issue and your trip to New York last month was immensely valuable, and I look forward to the visits to New York not only of Senator Boxer, as mentioned earlier, but Senator Biden, Senator Feinstein have already scheduled trips. We are looking for dates for many of you. Every member of this committee I have talked to personally about it, and the more of you that can come to New York and help with this cause the more useful it will be.

Thank you very much.

Senator GRAMS. Mr. Ambassador, would you permit the U.S. to vote for anything more than the \$2.533 billion? I say that with the backdrop of U.S.-U.N. memo that was circulated that said to keep only under the Secretary General's cap, which is about \$122 million higher. Would you permit any voting higher than the \$2.533 budget cap?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Well, I have a feeling that some of your staff think that they have trapped me in a sloppy memo that I may have signed, and I will talk to her later. But the answer to your question is no. I am bound by your regulations. If in fact that memo was initialed by me, it will be corrected. We have a position.

But it goes back to our basic point. We need the leverage in order to get to where we are going.

Senator GRAMS. I would like to pass it on to Senator Biden now because of time. Senator.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will ask in that case only one question as well. And I might point out, I did not like the Helms-Biden package either. It is just that my friends who wanted all the money could not find a nickel, not one plug nickel. So at least we were able to get from where Chairman Helms was, way below \$500 million, up to close to a billion.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Of huge importance.

Senator BIDEN. But that is not even done yet, and the House appropriators—the appropriators I am told made a change that I would like to find out from you whether or not, what kind of impact you think it has. Senator Helms and I agreed that we would front-end load a little more some of the money to offset the undisputed peacekeeping moneys owed by the United States against the reductions in U.S. arrear. So we had agreed in year 2 that there be \$107 million made available.

But appropriators in Commerce, Justice, State moved this \$107 million in debt relief from year 2 to year 3. Now, we fought awful hard to get it moved to year 2, to front-end load this money, because we were told by your predecessors and acting and as well as my visits to meet with the Secretary General and his staff that that would make a difference.

Can you comment on the degree of difficulty to which it increases your job, if at all? Or is it not as important? Obviously, we do not have anything yet, so I guess maybe talking about—

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. You are talking about the changes that occurred in the conference report?

Senator BIDEN. Correct, correct.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Senator Biden, these changes—there are two different issues here. But I was pledged, as you well remember, to carry out the Helms-Biden package, not to try to improve it. Notwithstanding the position of Senator Lugar and Senator Sarbanes, we were committed not to seek improvements in it.

Then a series of events resulted in a conference report which contained, as the President's veto language on the Commerce, Justice, State bill made clear, final changes, two of which in effect left us with a certainty of losing our vote.

Senator BIDEN. Made it worse?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Oh, much worse.

Now, these are highly arcane and technical things to the average listener, but they had no ambiguity of meaning in New York. The bill as it was sent to the President, which he vetoed, would have without question cost us our vote because of the change from year 2 to year 3 in the \$107 million credit. How ironic, therefore, that that was the money that was going to come right back to the Pentagon. With the greatest of respect to members of other committees, I just did not understand it.

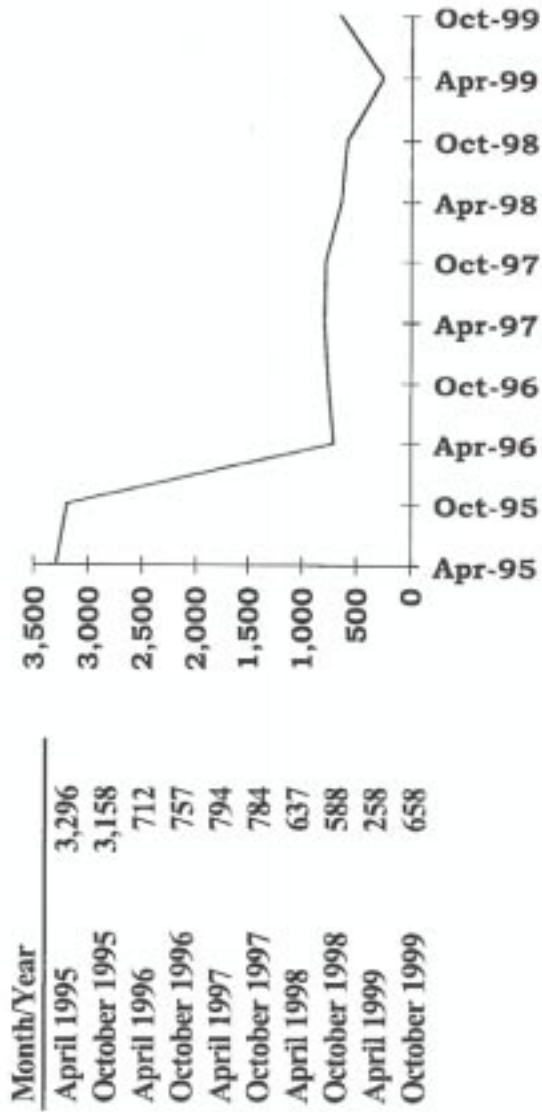
May I also, Mr. Chairman, just bring these charts to your attention because they are indirectly related before we adjourn.

Senator Biden mentioned peacekeeping. I first testified before the Congress in 1977. I have been testifying for 23 years. The one thing which has been consistent throughout those years, both Houses, both parties, was the U.S. should share the burden. The chart that you see before you shows the number of Americans who have served in and out of uniform under the U.N. from 1995 to today. The number now is somewhere around 10 percent or less of what it was 6 years ago. I believe that is a direct response to congressional concern.

The next chart shows an even more amazing fact, which is that the total number of Americans in uniform attached to U.N. peacekeeping right now is 36. And as you can see, they are all liaison and observers.

[The charts referred to follows:]

US Personnel in UN Peacekeeping Operations



As of 14 October 1999

US Troops and Military Observers in UN Peace Operations



UNIKOM (Kuwait)	11 Military Observers
UNMIK (Kosovo)	4 Military Observers
UNTAET (E. Timor)	3 Military Observers
MINURSO (W. Sahara)	15 Military Observers
	10 Military Observers*
	15 Logistics Personnel*
UNTSO (Middle East)	1 Military Observer
UNOMIG (Georgia)	2 Military Observers

Total US: 36

Total UN Troops and Observers: 10,176

* To Be Deployed

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. We have responded to the congressional request to get us out of the blue-helmet business. We have learned the dreadful lesson of Somalia and Bosnia, although we were not in the Bosnia peacekeeping, but those two disastrous events overshadow us. At this point we are supporting these peacekeeping efforts in East Timor, Sierra Leone, and elsewhere, but we need to make them work.

I want to be sure that, in response to Senator Biden's question, the Congress notes how much the administration has listened to your requests on this point.

Thank you.

Senator BIDEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Senator Biden.

Senator LUGAR.

Senator LUGAR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Holbrooke, in Kosovo where you visited recently and is on your mind almost every day, there were reports that the budget to support the peacekeeping during the coming weeks and months of the winter is deficient. In this case, much of the finger-pointing goes to European friends who have made pledges of money that Mr. Kouchner has not been receiving.

What is going to happen there? Literally, the problems are many: humanitarian issues involving shelter and clothing for people who are not properly housed, the general peacekeeping business of law and order, the problems of the agreement which does not lead to an independent state, and the criticism of Mr. Kouchner for adopting the Deutsch Mark and avoiding the issue of an independent country or entity and the consequent customs problems, smuggling, and so forth.

In the midst of this, with no money this is likely to be a very great disaster. We have 7,000 Americans, more or less, involved in the operation that are of great interest to our country, as well as what happened in the war that we just completed. What can you tell us about this and how is it to be financed in the midst of this general problem of our U.N. dues and the overall U.N. problem? What about our allies in this case?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Senator Lugar, there are four related aspects of your question: the relief effort, the assistance to Kouchner for running Kosovo, the question of the safety of the American and other NATO troops, and the final status of Kosovo. Let me be very quick.

On the relief effort, it is a race against winter, but I believe—please do not hold me to this—I believe the issue here is not funds so much as organization. But there are some funding problems.

On the other part of your problem, Dr. Kouchner will be in New York the day after tomorrow to address the Security Council and address this. He called me last weekend from Pristina frantic, saying he was running out of money. We had at that point given him only \$4 million. I stated that publicly, the New York Times reported it, I was attacked by my own colleagues in the State Department for misstating the situation. I said: Where is the money? They said: It is in the pipeline. I said: The pipeline does not mean it has gotten there.

I am pleased to say that since then an additional \$37 million, I believe, maybe \$31 million, either \$31 million or \$37 million, has gotten to the U.N. So the money is beginning to flow. It is going much too slowly, and the point you have made and Senator Biden and others have made, that if we do not pay our part the rest of the world is understandably going to lag, is operative here.

We have also notified the Congress of an additional \$10 million that we need for the Kosovo Protection Corps. That is a very controversial issue. We stand alone, virtually alone in supporting it. The Europeans are not happy with it.

I have been given that \$31.25 million is at the United Nations, so the correct number is \$31.25 million since my public statement on the \$4 million.

But that does not include the Kosovo Protection Corps, which many Members of this body have shown particular interest in, including Senator McConnell. We support that as a demilitarization of the KLA, and that money needs to be raised—needs to be up there.

We are also, Barbara points out, going to seek additional Kosovo funding in the regular budget during negotiations.

The third point is the U.S. troops, and this goes to the heart of what all six Senators who have been here, all seven Senators who have spoken here today, have made the point. We have American troops at risk. Everyone knows that American and NATO soldiers do not want to do police work. If we underfund the police, which are under the United Nations, the U.S. soldier is left with two choices if he sees a person, he or she sees a person harassing someone else or setting fire: Either leave the person alone or shoot them.

The NATO forces do not have arrest capability. That is the police function.

Frederickson, the brilliant Danish police commissioner under the United Nations, is very frustrated because he does not have enough people, he is underfunded. The only way to get the police there, which are essential to safety for the NATO troops, and in the long run in both Bosnia and Kosovo are critical to our drawdowns, which I know all of you would like to see as soon as possible, is to fund the U.N. portion of the police.

Finally, your most important and most difficult point, which deserves, if I might suggest, separate discussions at another date in another forum, the final status. Let me be very clear on this. The U.N. Security Council Resolution 1244 states in a very artful and creative piece of opaqueness, which was necessary for the bombing to stop, that Kosovo will remain part of Yugoslavia pending a final settlement. That is a paraphrase, but it is fairly close.

For the Russians and the Chinese, it is the phrase up to the comma that counts. For the United States, it is clearly implied that there has to be a final settlement of some sort. That settlement cannot take place as long as Slobodan Milosevic is President of Yugoslavia. There cannot be a negotiation with an indicted war criminal.

So the highest priority without any question at all must remain the change in the leadership in Belgrade. Secretary Albright, Sandy Berger, many of you today, and I later this afternoon are

meeting with members of the Serb opposition. If I am not mistaken, they are actually on the Hill right about now or they will be shortly. I urge you to meet with them. I will be seeing them later today.

This is the sine qua non of an orderly exit from the Balkans in a finite period of time, and no issue is more complicated or more critical for our national security interests.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador.

Senator Kerry, you were here first and I will go ahead and defer to you, unless you want to defer to Mr. Sarbanes.

Senator KERRY. I just have one question. Mr. Ambassador, in today's Washington Post Congressman Smith wrote a column taking the U.N. head-on and frankly taking your assessment of the good and evil question, essentially asserting that you have it backward. But he particularly says—he talks about:

"The total U.S. assessed and voluntary support of U.N. operations amounts to at least \$57 billion. The far smaller amount that is in dispute, the so-called arrearages for which U.N. critics have been accused of being deadbeats and isolationists, arises mostly from specific policy disputes, such as the Bosnia peacekeeping operation, U.N. subsidies for the Palestine Liberation Organization, and cold war era kickbacks to Communist governments from U.N. employee salaries."

Could you respond to both the assertion with respect to your assessment of good and evil and how that is represented here and, second, to this, the arrearages, as he has summed it up?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Thank you, Senator Kerry.

Senator SARBANES. Could I? I do think we ought to give the Ambassador a pass, if he chooses to use it, given his efforts right now on the Hill to see if we cannot get a solution.

Senator KERRY. Well, I am not asking him to go to war. I am just asking him to clarify for the record what the reality of those are, and it is certainly going to be central to any discussions with Mr. Smith as we proceed forward.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. I appreciate both the question and Senator Sarbanes' intervention. Senator Sarbanes is quite correct in that I do not want to get into personal disputes with elected officials who are doing their duty as they see it. In fact, even as this article was being printed I was publicly commenting at the National Press Club yesterday about the author of that article is a man of conviction and passion in pursuit of his own beliefs.

I am sorry that he chose to take comments I had made in my book and in a speech about the fact that evil exists in the world and must be recognized, which were not anywhere related to the United Nations, and link the two.

On Senator Kerry's key point, the specifics that you alluded to are specifically exempted in the Helms-Biden package. So on a purely factual basis, this article is just wrong, and I need hardly make that point to your committee since you were very clear in saying this money does not go for these things.

Senator KERRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator GRAMS. Thank you, Senator Kerry.

Senator Sarbanes.

Senator SARBANES. Mr. Chairman, I know we have a vote on. I will be very brief.

I am becoming concerned, and I understand why the focus should be on losing our vote at the General Assembly, but that is only part of the problem and, while the symbolism of that is very great, in the total picture may be the lesser part of the problem, because it seems to me that doing the minimum that keeps our vote in the General Assembly is not going to solve the situation of what has happened to American leadership and influence in this world body.

Now, my understanding is that the people that are scoring off of us in the U.N. over this issue are not those we have in the past regarded as kind of antagonists within the world forum, but those who have been in a sense our closest allies, who are sort of saying, well, look, there is the U.S., they cannot deliver on the thing and we can, and therefore you should look to us more than to them for the direction and the purpose of this world institution.

Am I in error that you are running into that kind of situation?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. No, I agree with everything you said and I want to underline that this is not simply about salvaging our vote in the General Assembly, as was done last year, by cobbling together one dollar more than the minimum required. It is about the full Helms-Biden package. If we do not get it now, we are not going to get it next year because it is not inside the budget cap. That will leave the next President of the United States with a \$2 billion assessment, which will not be fun for whoever it is.

So your larger point is underlying our purpose. You have given us a road map. We—and by “we” I mean the President, the Secretary of State, the administration—are pledged to use every effort we can to use every effort we have to carry it out from now to the end of this administration, and that is the full \$926 million, not the much lower amount needed to keep our vote.

So I appreciate your point.

Senator SARBANES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BIDEN. Mr. Chairman, may I make a very brief, 10-second comment? If we do not do it this year, I want to make it clear to everyone even I do not think Helms-Biden will get the job done next year. As a matter of fact, I think by delaying it an entire year—I truly believe whomever we had at the United Nations, particularly you, could have gotten it done 14 months ago if we had done it. It gets exponentially harder with the same number every year.

So no one should think that we can continue to kick the can down the road on Helms-Biden, because Biden does not think Helms-Biden can get the job done down the road, and it is going to be hard now, much harder than it was last year.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. I agree, and I just hope that Americans listening to this hearing understand what all of us have been trying to say. This is not about the U.N. It is about American national security interests.

Senator GRAMS. Mr. Ambassador, we have about 7 minutes left in this vote and it is 3 votes back to back and it would be about 45 minutes or longer before we could be back. I do not know what your schedule is. I could make changes in mine to come back. Oth-

erwise, I would have just a couple of quick questions to ask before we adjourn the hearing.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. I am at your disposal always, Mr. Chairman. But I also do need—I have four or five appointments on the House side that I would much appreciate going to do. But my first obligation is always to this committee, so you tell me.

Senator GRAMS. I will just ask one more brief question if I could, then. It is dealing with oversight and I want to talk about it against the backdrop of an increased proposed budget, and of these statements by Under Secretary General Paschke that internal controls at the U.N.—as I stated earlier in the opening statement—are weak and accountability there is blurred. And he criticized the Fifth Committee for having—and I quote now—“stymied Secretary General Kofi Annan’s reform proposals,” stating that its members, paying “lip service to reforms, simply put on the brakes when it comes time to make the changes.”

I must admit that I always appreciate, I think, a healthy dose of candor, especially from those that are about to leave their positions. Even the Secretary General has made remarks about the U.N. that it could be streamlined and reforms are necessary. He has made probably some of the best arguments for reforms and oversight.

Where do you think the choke points are in the U.N. system which stifle this reform? Where is the opposition to putting some of this reform into play?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. In my own personal view the Secretary General’s role is too weak, but I am not in a position to solve that. I intend to address it in some speeches and reform proposals later. Mr. Paschke, who I knew when I was Ambassador to Germany, who I am proud to say I helped support for the job when I was in Bonn, has spoken candidly and honestly. I agree with what he said. I intend to fight very hard to make sure that his successor will be a qualified non-diplomat, my apologies to my colleagues in the Foreign Service, but a person with accounting and business skills. I do not care what country the person comes from. I just care about his or her qualifications.

As for the Fifth Committee, I am very grateful to your committee for having heard and moved so rapidly up to this point on the nomination of, I hope, Don Hays and Jim Cunningham. Don Hays will be, if confirmed by the Senate, an absolute bulldog in Fifth Committee. He will sit there, and anyone who has met him knows that he is the best we have got. Jim Cunningham, who is, or at least was a half hour ago, seated behind me here, will be a superb successor to Peter Burleigh.

For all of them, as for me, reform will be our goal. So all I can say is Paschke is speaking the truth and we are going to back him up.

But this is, just like getting votes in the Congress, this is vote-getting on a retail basis. We have to go back to the countries who do not understand what we are doing and why and show them that reforming the U.N. is in their interests as well, and remove this latent grudging anger at us, which is not just “Third World anti-Americanism.” It comes from—one of the worst speeches about us was done by New Zealand. You know why, Mr. Chairman.

But we have to deal with this understandable anger. I am looking forward to doing it, and particularly with the assistance of Don Hays and Jim Cunningham.

Senator GRAMS. Talking about choke points, just to followup, Great Britain has threatened to cutoff funding to some U.N. programs unless the U.N. takes aggressive action to halt waste and mismanagement. Why have they not been more vocal then in supporting the U.S. reform efforts?

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Why have they what?

Senator GRAMS. Why have they not been more vocal in supporting the U.S. reform efforts? We talk about choke points.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. Are you talking about why Paschke has not been more vocal?

Senator GRAMS. No, why Great Britain has not, even though they said that they would even threaten to cutoff pounds to U.N. programs.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. You would have to ask—I think you should probably address to the British Government their own actions. But you heard Ambassador Greenstock's speech in Fifth Committee. I think it was the day after you were in New York. You would see that his speech was not very—he did not praise the U.S., either. Our closest allies are constrained in working with us because of the arrears problem.

Senator GRAMS. Well, thank you, Mr. Ambassador. I think as you know, we want to work with you very closely on this arrears package and to complete it, and then also to continue working very closely with you to give you the support you need to help with the reforms. And as many trips as we can make to New York to help you, we will make. You have our commitment to do that.

Senator BIDEN. We will try to bring money.

Ambassador HOLBROOKE. You can come without money if you must, but the greatest value—and I think Senator Grams' trip illustrated this—is to explain to the U.N. that we are all on the same wavelength here and the differences are tactical. I look forward very much, Senator Biden, to your trip on November 15.

Senator BIDEN. I look forward as well. You are doing a hell of a job.

Senator GRAMS. I appreciate it, and I am sorry about the abbreviated hearing. But I thank you very much for your time to come before the committee.

The hearing is concluded.

[Whereupon, at 3:48 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

